1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXb

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dual Political Divisions

Two great political divisions were anciently recognized on Hiva Oa, the western portion of the island being called Nuku, the eastern, Pepane. In Nuku were included also the islands of Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Nuku, the elder brother, and Pepane, the younger, are believed by the natives to have been the first inhabitants of their respective regions of Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva there was likewise a dual division. Tei'i, traditionally the elder brother, was the ancestor of the western division, while Taipinui-a'aku was the ancestor of the people of the eastern division (See 4).

This dual division of the two main islands may be due to the growth and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. The possibility also suggests itself to one's mind that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was dual division into moieties. It is significant that there was a corresponding dual political division on Eastern Island, on Rarotonga, on Niue, and on Hawaii, and probably elsewhere. The original cause and meaning of these dual systems in Polynesia are yet to be determined.

It is evident that, in some of the large valleys of the Marquesas, the population was made up of one large tribe with subdivisions. This was the case in Atu Ona (Vevau) on Hiva Oa, and this is the political situation most commonly found in the large valleys. But in other places an intrusive tribe had pushed in by the sea somewhere or probably more often from the mountains. An example of such intrusion is found in the valley of Huna Menu on Hiva Oa, where it is known that the people of the upper and lower sections of the valley were enemies, and further, that those of the upper section were the friends of the tribes in the upper part of Vevau, which is in close touch with upper Hana Menu by an overland route, while the people of the lower Hana Menu were the enemies of the people of Vevau. The people of Vevau could go into upper Hana Menu with all the assurance of safety that they would feel in their own valley, but to venture into lower Hana Menu meant death. Permanent settlement of one island from another, probably under the urge of war but perhaps for peaceful colonization, is undoubtedly illustrated in Fatu Hiva in five small bays on the southeast coast, which were inhabited by people whose tribal name was Tiu, the name of the great tribe in the valley of Ta'a Oa on Hiva Oa.

Perhaps the best way in which to discuss tribal relationships is to describe what was learned from modern informants in each island. They, unfortunately, remember but little about the principal tribes of the larger